

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 00762 061815Z

43

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 056431

P 061733Z FEB 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 500

S E C R E T GENEVA 0762

EXDIS

FROM USDEL NPT PREPCOM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: NPT AND ROC

SUMMARY: A ROC ATTEMPTED TO PARTICIPATE IN NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE A DESPUTIVE AND DIVISIVE EFFECT ON ITS PROCEEDINGS, WHETHER OR NOT ATTEMPT WERE TO SUCCEED. IF IT FAILED -- AS WE ESTIMATE IT WILL -- ROC COULD DECIDE TO DENOUNCE TREATY WITH ITS ATTENDANT SAFEGUARDS. WE FEEL THAT BEST COURSE WOULD BE FOR ROC TO REMAIN ABSENT, AS SOME OTHER PARTIES WILL NO DOUBT ALSO DO. WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT USG APPROACH ROC AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY AND AT HIGH LEVEL WITH OBJECTIVE OF CONVINCING ROC THAT IT IS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST FOR THEM NOT TO ATTEMPT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REVIEW CONFERENCE. WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD ALSO BE MADE CLEAR TO ROC THAT USG CANNOT SUPPORT THEM IF THEY NONETHELESS PERSIST. END SUMMARY.

1. DISCUSSIONS SO FAR DURING THIRD SESSION NPT PREPCOM LEAD DELEGATION TO OFFIER ITS VIEWS TO DEPARTMENT ON SUBJECT OF ATTENDANCE BY REPUBLIC OF CHINA (ROC) AT REVIEW CONFERENCE IN MAY 1975. ROC IS, OF COURSE, PARTY TO TREATY AND HAS SAME RIGHT TO TKAE PART IN REVIEW CONFERENCE AS ANY OTHER PARTY. QUESTION OF WHETHER IT ATTEMPTS TO

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 00762 061815Z

DO SO, HOWEVER, HAS IMPLICATIONS FOR US POLICY VIS-A-

VIS ROC AND PRC MATTERS BEYOND SCOPE OF THIS DELEGATION, BUT ALSO FOR SUCCESS OF REVIEW CONFERENCE AND FUTURE OF NPT, WHICH WE THINK MERIT CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

2. DELEGATION BELIEVES IT HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT AN ATTEMPT BY ROC TO ATTEND REVIEW CONFERENCE WOULD BE DISRUPTIVE AND QUITE POSSIBLY COULD DELAY PROCEEDINGS OF CONFERENCE WHILE ROC'S POSITION BEING CONSIDERED. UNDER PROVISIONAL RULES OF PROCEDURE RECOMMENDED BY PREPCOM, REPRESENTATIVES OF PARTIES ARE ENTITLED TO PARTICIPATE PROVISIONALLY IN CONFERENCE PENDING DECISION OF CONFERENCE (PRESUMABLY AFTER REPORT BY CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE) ON THEIR CREDENTIALS. IF THIS RULE WERE OBSERVED, SECRETARIAT WOULD BE OBLIGED TO PROVIDE SEATING, LISTING, AND OTHER AMENITIES FOR ROC DELEGATION WHICH WOULD PARTICIPATE PROVISIONALLY FOR FIRST PART OF CONFERENCE, INVOLVING ELECTION OF OFFICERS, REPORT OF PREPCOM, ETC.

3. PHILIPPINE DEL HAS TOLD US HE HEARD THAT ROC HAD ALREADY MADE DECISION TO ATTEND. PHILIPPINE DEL HAS TAKEN STRONG POSITION IN DEBATE DEMANDING THAT IAEA PAPERS SUBMITTED FOR CONFERENCE PROPERLY LIST ROC UNDER ALL HEADINGS WHERE IT WOULD BE APPLICABLE.

4. ROMANIANS AND OTHERS (INCLUDING CANADIANS) HAVE SAID PRIVATELY THAT IT WOULD BE UNLIKELY THAT PROVISIONAL SEATING OF ROC UNDER RULES OF PROCEDURE WOULD BE AGREED TO. THEY BELIEVE IT MORE LIKELY THAT ANY PRESENCE OF ROC WOULD BE CHALLENGED AT MOMENT IT APPEARED, AND IT WOULD BE DEMANDED THAT ALL OTHER BUSINESS OF CONFERENCE WAIT UNTIL ROC PRESENCE HAD BEEN DISPOSED OF, PRESUMABLY BY VOTING TO DISAPPROVE CREDENTIALS.

5. SOVIET DELEGATION HAS CONSISTENTLY TAKEN POSITION FROM FIRST PREPCOM SESSION THAT DEFINITION OF "PARTY" IS ANY STATE WHOSE RATIFICATIONS HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY A DEPOSITARY AND "RELUCTANTLY", THEREFORE, ADMITS PRIVATELY  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 00762 061815Z

ROC IS TECHNICALLY A PARTY. THIS MIGHT MEAN THAT USSR MIGHT ABSTAIN RATHER THAN VOTE AGAINST ROC, BUT WE DOUBT IT WOULD EVER MEAN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE BY SOVS TO SEAT ROC.

6. DELEGATION INFO IS THAT SOME 22 OUT OF 83 NPT PARTIES RECOGNIZE ROC. EVEN UNDER MOST FAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE THINK THERE IS NO REASONABLE EXPECTATION THAT ROC'S CREDENTIALS WOULD BE ACCEPTED.

CANADIANS, FOR INSTANCE, HAVE TOLD US IN PRIVATE THAT, FOR THEIR PART, THEY WOULD MUCH PREFER TO SEE ROC ATTEND CONFERENCE BECAUSE OF IMPLICATIONS FOR CONTINUED SAFEGUARDS OVER NUCLEAR INDUSTRY IN TAIWAN. THIS FEELING, HOWEVER, IS OUTWEIGHED IN VIEW OF CANADIAN DELEGATION BY POLITICAL NECESSITY OF RECOGNIZING THAT TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA AND PRIMACY OF THAT FACTOR OVER QUESTION OF SAFEGUARDS. IT APPEARS PROBABLY THAT HIS VIEW WOULD APPLY IN CASE OF MOST OTHER DELEGATIONS WHO MIGHT OTHERWISE SEE VALUE OF ROC ATTENDANCE.

7. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IF ROC ATTEMPTS TO ATTEND, WE ESTIMATE RESULT WILL BE SOME DISRUPTION OF EARLY STAGES OF REVIEW CONFERENCE WITH EVENTUAL DENIAL OF ROC PARTICIPATION. BECAUSE OF INEVITABLE ASSOCIATION IN MINDS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS OF ROC WITH US, THIS COULD BE SIGNIFICANT FACTOR AFFECTING US INTERESTS ON OVERALL OBJECTIVES OF REVIEW CONFERENCE. MOREOVER, SUCH RESULTS MIGHT CAUSE ROC TO CONSIDER DENOUNCING NPT WITH ITS ATTENDANT SAFEGUARDS ON GROUNDS THAT TREATY PARTIES HAD NOT RECOGNIZED ITS RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE FROM POINT OF VIEW OF US INTERESTS IN STRENGTHENING NON-PROLIFERATION.

8. IT IS PROBABLY, IN DELEGATION'S VIEW, THAT SOME PARTIES TO TREATY WILL NOT ATTEND REVIEW CONFERENCE. EVEN IN PREPCOM WHICH IS COMPARATIVELY SELECT GROUP SINCE IT CONSISTS OF PARTIES WHO ALSO TAKE PART IN CCD OR IAEA BOARD OF GOVERNORS, THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL COUNTRIES WHICH MADE NO APPEARANCE. IF ROC SHOULD DECIDE NOT TO ATTEMPT TO ATTEND REVIEW CONFERENCE,

SECRET

PAGE 04 GENEVA 00762 061815Z

CONFERENCE, IT WOULD MOST LIKELY BE ONE AMONG A NUMBER, RATHER THAN THE ONLY PARTY TO BE ABSENT. IT SEEMS TO DELEGATION THAT THIS WOULD BE BEST OVERALL DECISION. IT WOULD NOT SUBJECT ROC TO INDIGNITY OF BEING REFUSED ENTRANCE. IT WOULD NOT CREATE PUBLIC SITUATION WHICH MIGHT STIMULATE DEMAND IN TAIWAN TO DENOUNCE TREATY. IT WOULD PROVIDE CONTINUATION OF ROC'S CURRENT STATUS WHICH WE THINK IN BEST INTERESTS OF US.

9. EVEN THOUGH DELEGATION DOES NOT BELIEVE THERE IS REALISTIC CHANCE OF ROC CREDENTIALS BEING ACCEPTED, THAT HYPOTHETICAL SITUATION MIGHT BE EVEN WORSE THAN HAVING CREDENTIALS REFUSED. ACCEPTANCE COULD COME ABOUT ONLY THROUGH LARGE NUMBER OF ABSTENTIONS AND OVER DETERMINED OPPOSITION FROM THOSE CLOSEST TO PRC

VIEWS (LED BY ROMANIANS). SOVIET BLOC ABSTENTION WOULD PROBABLY BE ONE KEY TO THIS OUTCOME, AND THERE WOULD BE IMPLICATIONS FOR PRC AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS NON-PROLIFERATION AND ARMS CONTROL INSTRUMENTS IN GENERAL IF IT APPEARED THAT USSR HAD COOPERATED, EVEN PASSIVELY, WITH US IN HAVING ROC INTERNATIONAL STATUS RESUSCITATED. IT MIGHT BE THAT SOME DIEHARDS WOULD REFUSE TO REMAIN AT REVIEW CONFERENCE UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND IN ANY EVENT ATMOSPHERE AT CONFERENCE WOULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY POLARIZATION BETWEEN PRO- AND ANTI-ROC GROUPS. USDEL THEREFORE SEES NOT NET ADVANTAGE IN MAKING ANY EFFORT TO WIN APPROVAL FOR ROC PARTICIPATION.

10. DELEGATION FEELS IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE FOR USG TO SHARE THIS ANALYSIS WITH ROC AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY AND AT HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL WITH OBJECTIVE OF CONVINCING ROC THAT IT IS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST FOR THEM NOT TO ATTEMPT TO PARTICIPATE IN REVIEW CONFERENCE ANT THAT WE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THEM IF THEY DID. IN THIS CONNECTION IT MIGHT BE POINTED OUT TO THEM THAT USDEL HAS MADE STRONG AND SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO RETAIN CHINESE AS ONE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES OF TREATY DOCUMENTS AND HAS SEEN TO IT THAT DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIAL REPORTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS ARE DISTRIBUTED TO ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING ROC, ON EQUAL BASIS.DALE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 GENEVA 00762 061815Z

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, NPT, MEETING DELEGATIONS, MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 FEB 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ellisoob  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975GENEVA00762  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750044-0265  
**From:** GENEVA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750267/aaaaciii.tel  
**Line Count:** 201  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ellisoob  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 04 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <04 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <15 SEP 2003 by ellisoob>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** NPT AND ROC SUMMARY: A ROC ATTEMPTED TO PARTICIPATE IN NPT REVIEW  
**TAGS:** PARM, TW, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006